[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
● 723 and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
176 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
199 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

192 cont. / [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /193/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

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151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

193 cont. / [Buriti]

175 621 648 423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 621 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was [162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during [166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range [648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former 175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, 361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
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152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,